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Message Text

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67
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 NEA-09 IO-10 INRE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

OMB-01 BIB-01 EB-07 COME-00 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04

XMB-02 FRB-03 SAB-01 SAM-01 OES-03 NSF-01 CU-02 AID-05

/114 W
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O R 181514Z APR 75
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9419
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
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USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USIA WASHDC

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
CINCEUR
CINCLANT
CINCPAC
CINCUSAREUR
CINCUSNAVEUR
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 5418

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 4)

FOR POLADS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

USIA FOR IBS, IEE, IPS

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US
SUBJ: PRAVDA LEADER ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

REF: MOSCOW 5297 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA'S LEAD EDITORIAL APRIL 17 IS APPARENTLY A SANITIZED VERSION OF GROMYKO'S REPORT TO THE PARTY PLENUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. THE EDITORIAL ECHOES SOVIET SELF-CONFIDENCE REFLECTED IN THE PLENUM RESOLUTION (REFTEL) AND TAKES THE SAME TOUGH LINE AGAINS THE ACTIVITIES OF IMPERIALIST FORCES. ITS DISCUSSION OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS EMPHASIZES THEIR IMPORTANCE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT, BUT IT ALSO WARNS AGAINST THE ACTIVITIES OF COLD WARRIORS IN THE U.S. IT VOICES THE ASSUMPTION THAT STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATORY PASSAGES IN TRADE/CREDIT LEGISLATION; WE READ THIS AS A PROD, NOT A PREDICTION. UNCHARACTERISTICALLY, THERE IS NO
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REFERENCE TO THE TIMING OF THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE--A SIGN OF SOVIET CAUTION AND PERHAPS FLEXIBILITY. THE FAILURE TO MENTIN PORTUGAL SUGGESTS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED THAT DEVELOPMENT THERE NOT SABOTAGE THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PRAVDA LEAD EDITORIAL APRIL 17 PURPORTS TO REFLECT PARTY PLENUM DISCUSSION OF THE PLENUM RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN POLICY (REFTEL). WE PRESUME IT IS IN FACT A SHORTENED AND SANITIZED VERSION OF GROMYKO'S REPORT TO THE PELNUM ON THE INTERNATONAL SITUATION. THE FACT THAT GROMYKO GAVE THE REPORT, RATHER THAN BREZHNEV, WHO GAVE THE LAST SUCH REPORT IN APRIL 1973, IS PROBABLY NOT

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SIGNIFICANT. BREZHNEV GAVE ANOTHER REPORT--ON THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS--AND GROMYKO, NOW A POLITBURO MEMBER, WAS LOGICALLY NEXT IN LINE TO SPEAK ON THIS SUBJECT.

3. THE EDITORIAL ECHOES THE TOUGH TONE OF THE RESOLUTION. ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE WORLD SITUATION IS SELF-CONFIDENT, AT TIMES ALMOST IMPERIOUS. IT IS A MORE GENERAL STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE THAN WAS THE SIMILAR APRIL 1973 EDITORIAL (PRAVDA, APRIL 29, 1973), WHICH LABORIOUSLY DISCUSSED THE STATE OF SOVIET RELATIONS WITH A RATHER LENGTHY LIST OF THE WORLD'S NATIONS ONE BY ONE. THE CURRENT EDITORIAL RESTATES THE BASIC PROPOSITINS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, REASSERTING ITS "CONSISTENT CLASS NATURE." IT SAYS THAT THE PLENUM "EMPHASIZED" SOVIET SOLIDARITY WITH THE FORCES OF "SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION". THERE IS ONLY BRIEF MENTION OF SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (THEY WERE COVERED MORE FULLY IN 1973).

4. THE EDITORIAL COMES CLOSE TO GIVING A SOVIET DEFINITION OF DETENTE BY SAYING THAT THE "MAIN CONTENT" OF A DETENTE POLICY IS AVOIDANCE OF THE USE OF FORCE AND RECOGNITION AND OBSERVANCE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, EQUALITY, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IT ADDS AT A LATER POINT THAT THE SOVIET UNION ADVOCATES THE STRENGH-ENING OF POLITICAL DETENTE BY MILITARY DETENTE, REDUC-TIONS IN ARMAMENTS, AND DISARMAMENT, AS WELL AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL, AND CONFIDENTIAL

CULTURAL TIES "WITHOUT INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS." REFERENCE TO THE "IRREVERSIBILITY" OF DETENTE, WHICH WAS DOWNPLAYED IN THE PLENUM RESOLUTION, DISAPPEARS ENTIRELY IN THE EDITORIAL.

5. THE EDITORIAL ECHOES THE RESOLUTION'S EMPHASIS ON THE NEFARIOUS ACTIVITIES OF IMPERIALIST FORCES AND THE NEED FOR VIGILANCE AGAINST IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA AND LIBLE. THE REPORT ON THE 1973 PLENUM DEVOTED LESS SPACE TO THIS TOPIC AND WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS VEHEMENT.

6. THE EDITORIAL'S DISCUSSION OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IS GENERALLY POSITIVE, WITH THE U.S. PLACED FIRST IN THE LISTING OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND WITH EMPHASIS ON THE "ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE" OF VLADIVOSTOK. T THE SAME TIME, ITS DEVOTION TO A FULL PARAGRAPH TO "FORCES" IN THE U.S. WHO OPPOSE DETENTE, AND TO "COMPLICATIONS" CAUSED BY THESE FORCES, LENDS EMPHASIS TO DIFFICULTIES IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND DELINEATES FOR THE PARTY FAITHFUL ON WHOM THE BLAME SHOULD REST FOR SLOWER THAN HOPED-FOR MOVEMENT. ITS STATEMENT THAT "IT IS SUPPOSED" (THE VERB "POLAGAYUT" IS MISLEADINGLY TRANS-

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LATED ON ENGLISH TASS AS "IT IS BELIEVED") THAT STEPS
WILL BE TAKEN TO REMOVE THE DISCRIMINATORY PASSAGES
IN RECENT TRADE AND CREDIT LEGISLATION IS A REMINDER
THAT THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO ASCRIBE IMPORTANCE TO FULL
ACCEPTANCE BY THE U.S. AS AN EQUAL PARTNER AND THAT
THEY CONSIDER THE NEXT STEP TO BE UP TO US.

7. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE EDITORIAL RESTATES STANDARD
POSITIONS, THOUGH ITS LACK OF REFERENCE TO ANYTIME
FRAME FOR CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS UNUSUAL.
WE READ IT AS A FURTHER SIGN OF SOVIET CAUTION AND PER-
HAPS FLEXIBILITY. THE EDITORIAL CALLS THE RECONVENING
OF GENEVA "INDEIPENSABLE," SUGGESTING CONTINUING SOVIET
SENSITIVITY ABOUT A POSSIBLE REVIVAL OF THE STEP-BY-
STEP APPROACH. ITS DEMAND THAT A ME SETTLEMENT BE
BASED ON COMPLETE LIBERATION OF ARAB LANDS IS CONSISTENT
WITH SOVIET FORMULAS, BUT IS INEXPLICABLY MAKES NO REFERENCE
TO 1967.

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8. ON SOUTHEAST ASIA THE EDITORIAL HAS NOTHING NEW TO
SAY. IT AVOIDS MENTIONEING THE U.S. BY NAME, BUT IT
LOCALIZES THE INDIRECT ACCUSATIONS MADE IN THE PLENUM
RESOLUTION BY CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF "OUTSIDE
INTERFERENCE" IN VIETNAM'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

9. THE EDITORIAL REPORTS THAT RELATIONS OF THE PRC ARE
UNCHANGED, BUT EMPHASIZES MORE THAN THE 1973 EDITORIAL DID THAT
THE SOVIET UNION IS READY TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS. ITS MENTION
OF SOVIET-INDIAN RELATIONS AS A MODEL FOR RELATIONS
WITH THE THIRD WORLD IS INTERESTING, AND RAISES
INDIA ANOTHER NOTCH ABOVE THE STANDING ALLOTED TO IT
IN THE 1973 EDITORIAL.

10. THE EDITORIAL'S LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF
SOVIET RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE SUGGESTS SATIS-
FACTION WITH THE COURSE OF AFFAIRS IN THAT AREA OF
THE WORLD TOGETHER WITH A CONCLUSION THAT IT WOULD NOT
BE WISE TO GLOAT OVER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OR PORTUGAL.
CSCE IS MENTIONED BUT BRIEFLY, THOUGH OF COURSE RECEIVES
HIGH MARKS. THERE IS NO MENTION OF PORTUGAL, AND NONE
OF THE GENERAL ASSERTIONS OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR PROGRES-
SIVE MOVEMENTS APPEARS TO BE TAILORED TO APPLY SPECIFI-
CALLY TO PORTUGAL. THIS INDICATES CONSIDERABLE SOVIET
CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE IMPOICATIONS OF PORTUGUESE
DEVELOPMENTS FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE,
EXPECIALLY ON THE EVE OF THE CSCE SUMMITS.
STOESSEL

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JIDDA
LENINGRAD
LONDON
HONG KONG
MUNICH
NATO
PARIS
PRAGUE
PEKING
ROME
SOFIA
TEL AVIV
MBFR VIENNA
USUN
WARSAW
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CINCEUR
CINCLANT
CINCPAC
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